

## Message Text

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15  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-07 ISO-00 IO-13 SAJ-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

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USMISSION USUN  
AMCONSUL ZAGREB

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E.O. 11652: NA  
TAGS: PFOR YO UR XH  
SUBJ: PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM REARS ITS UGLY HEAD

REF: BELGRADE 4483

1. SUMMARY: YUGOSLAV PRESS IS BEGINNING TO CRITICIZE  
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RENEWED STRESS OF CONCEPT "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM"

IN SOVIET PRESS DESPITE EXCLUSION OF PHRASE FROM ECPC FINAL DOCUMENT. NON-DISPUTATIOUS IN TONE, YUGOSLAV ARTICLES NONETHELESS TERM THIS CONCEPT CONTRARY TO ECPC FINAL DOCUMENT. IMPLIED IN YUGOSLAV ARTICLES IS THAT SOVIETS NEED TO CONSOLIDATE THIER BASE SUPPORT IN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. RESURRECTION IN SOVIET MEDIA OF THEME AND PHRASE PROLETARIAN (OR SOCIALIST) INTERNATIONALISM HAS BEEN HIGHLIGHTED IN RECENT SPATE OF YUGOSLAV NEWSPAPER ARTICLES. MAIN TARGET HAS BEEN PIECE IN SEPTEMBER ISSUE OF MEZHDUNARODNA ZHIZN (MZ), ALTHOUGH YUGOSLAV ARTICLES REPORT THAT OTHERS IN SOVIET PRESS HAVE JOINED IN. POLITIKA (SEP 7) QUOTES MZ AS STATING : "THE INCREASINGLY COMPLETE MANIFESTATION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF PROLETARIAN, SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM IN MUTUAL RELATIONS OF BROTHERLY PARTIES AND PEOPLES OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES REPRESENTS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT EXPRESSIONS OF THE OBJECTIVE PROCESS OF CLOSER ASSOCIATION OF THE PEOPLES OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY."

3. ACCORDING TO POLITIKA, SOVIET ARTICLE ASSERTS THAT ANY "ABSOLUTIST INTERPRETATION OF GENERAL DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES SUCH AS EQUALITY, SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE, AND THEIR CONFRONTATION WITH PRINCIPLES SUCH AS BROTHERLY MUTUAL ASSISTANCE AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY WOULD BE IN CONTRADICTION TO THE SPIRIT AND SUBSTANCE OF SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM." AT THIS POINT, IN ITS ONLY DIRECT REBUTTAL, POLITIKA ARTICLE STATES THAT THIS INTERPRETATION DOES NOT ACCORD WITH STATEMENTS IN ECPC FINAL DOCUMENT.

4. NEVERTHELESS POLITIKA MAINTAINS THIS POSITION IS RELATED TO "INCREASING TALK (IN SOVIET PRESS) ABOUT BASIC TRENDS OF 'CLOSER ASSOCIATION OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES' IN ECONOMICS...AND IN FOREIGN POLICY." THIS IS PARTICULARLY NOTICEABLE, STATES POLITIKA, AFTER BOTH ECPC AND SERIES OF INDIVIDUAL MEETINGS BREZHNEV HELD THIS SUMMER IN CRIMEA WITH EE LEADERS. POLITIKA DECLARES THAT THE CONSIDERABLE ANALYSIS IN SOVIET PRESS OF "THESE ACCENTS... IMPOSES IMPRESSION" THAT THESE TENDENCIES ARE BEING ENCOURAGED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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IN WARSAW PACT AND COMECON COUNTRIES.

5. CITING ONLY ARTICLE BY BULGARIAN CP SECRETARY IVAN PRIMOV IN PARTIINAJE ZHIZN, POLITIKA MAINTAINS THAT SOVIET PRESS ALSO IS CARRYING ARTICLES BY FOREIGN CP MEMBERS EMPHASIZING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SOVIET UNION TO COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

6. ARTICLE IN SEP 6 BORBA ALSO TAKES OUT AGAINST MZ. BORBA'S THEME IS THAT SOVIETS ARE TRYING TO PRESENT RULES OF CONDUCT AMONG WARSAW PACT STATES AS "NEW TYPE OF RELATIONS AMONG SOCIALIST STATES." BORBA ASSERTS THIS "OLD" TYPE OF RELATIONS "COULD NEVER BECOME A MODEL FOR ALL SOCIALIST COUNTRIES."

7. BORBA REMARKS THAT NEED FOR ARTICLE IS PERHAPS REACTION TO ECPC, AND REFUTES CLAIM THAT "NORMS AND PRINCIPLES ('FOUNDED UPON SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM') HAVE FOUND THEIR EXPRESSION IN... COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES CONFERENCES IN 1957, 1960, 1969 1976." IT INSISTS THAT ECPC "HAD ABSOLUTELY NOTHING TO DO WITH THE PAST."

8. FINALLY, BORBA SAYS THAT NOTHING IS NEW IN MZ ARTICLE "EXCEPT INTERCONNECTION BETWEEN THE OLD AND NEW," AND TERMS THE THESIS SET FORTH AS "INCONGRUOUS NOT ONLY WITH THE IDEAS AND POLICY OF AN EVEN GREATER NUMBER OF COMMUNIST PARTIES BUT TO A CERTAIN DEGREE WITH INDIVIDUAL DECLARATIONS OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AND SOVIET CP DOCUMENTS."

9. COMMENT: YUGOSLAV REACTION TO REBIRTH OF "PRO-LETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" MANIFESTATION THUS FAR HAS BEEN RESTRAINED. HOWEVER, HAVING FLOODED LOCAL MEDIA WITH ITS POSITION ON THE SUBJECT IN THE PAST, YUGOSLAVS NEED ONLY QUOTE CONTRARY CONCEPTS TO ILLUSTRATE TARGETS OF CRITICISM. IN THE MAIN BORBA AND POLITIKA ARTICLES DO JUST THIS. ALSO IN THIS RESPECT, TANJUG DEVOTED CONSIDERABLE SPACE TO RUDE PRAVO'S RECENT BLAST AGAINST L'UNITA AND LATTER'S RESPONSE. ANNOYED TONE OF YUGOSLAV ARTICLES INDICATES INTENTION TO PERSIST ALONG THIS TRACK. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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DESPITE AWARENESS THAT SOVIETS WOULD PERSIST IN THEIR OWN IDEOLOGICAL PURSUITS (FORESHADOWED IN OUR POST-ECPC ANALYSIS PER REFTEL), YUGOSLAVS NOW EXPERIENCING SOME UNEASINESS OVER SOVIET STATEMENTS LINKING SOVEREIGNTY WITH SOLIDARITY. OUR READING OF ECPC DOCUMENT PUTS SOVIETS ON STRONG IDEOLOGICAL GROUND, WHICH MUST ENHANCE YUGOSLAV UNEASE. KEY SENTENCE OF DOCUMENT CONCERNING THIS ISSUE READS: "THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM IN ONE'S COUNTRY AND RESPONSIBILITY OF EVERY PARTY TO ITS OWN WORKING CLASS AND PEOPLE ARE LINKED WITH THE MUTUAL SOLIDARITY OF WORKING PEOPLE OF ALL COUNTRIES, OF ALL PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENTS AND PEOPLES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AND STRENGTHENING OF INDEPENDENCE, FOR DEMOCRACY, SOCIALISM AND PEACE IN THE ENTIRE WORLD." THUS THERE IS AMPLE JUSTIFICATION FOR SOVIET ASSERTION IN MZ THAT "ANY

ABSOLUTIST INTERPRETATION OF ...SOVEREIGNTY... AND  
CONFRONTATION WITH INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY WOULD BE  
IN CONTRADICTION TO SPIRIT AND SUBSTANCE OF SOCIALIST  
INTERNATIONALISM" AND ECPC.  
SILBERMAN

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